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Cultural Nationalism, Orientalism, Imperial Ambivalence: The *Colored American Magazine* and Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins

YU-FANG CHO

> The labor question, the question of suffrage, rested in the hands of immigrants, the Negro question—all are slowly being merged into one great question envolving [*sic*] the herd of common people of whom the Negro is a recognized factor. The solution of one of these living issues must eventually solve the other two, and no finite power can stay the event. Herein lies our only hope.
>
> —Pauline Hopkins, "Munroe Rogers"

I. Colored Soldiers and the US Empire

"The people [in Manila] are especially friendly to the colored soldiers, always saying there is no difference between them and us," remarks African American Captain W. H. Jackson in a letter to his mother written during the Philippine–American War. Reprinted in the *Colored American Magazine* in June 1900, just a few months before positive portrayals of Filipino/as appeared in the magazine's inaugural year, Jackson's account of his stint in Manila vividly captures the complicated relationship between black citizen subjects and other racialized peoples under US imperial rule.[1] After noting the friendly Filipinos, he soon shifts to a declaration of unwavering patriotism: "The insurgents even sent out placards to the colored officers and men, asking us not to fight against them, because we were of the same color. But we only laugh, for we are U.S. soldiers, and all the enemies of the U.S. government look alike to us, hence we go along with the killing, just as with other people" (149). In this account that exemplifies racialized subjects' ambivalent attachment to the US nation-state,

Jackson's refusal to acknowledge the appeal of Filipino "insurgents" to potential race-based, transnational alliances highlights that the formation of US nationalist identification demands "color-blindness" as well as outright indifference to its violent consequences. Moreover, this refusal signals both a rejection and a disavowal of the period's dominant US colonial racial logic, which "negroizes" both the Chinese and the Filipinos.[2] In "go[ing] along with the killing," Jackson (re)aligns "colored Americans" strictly with the US nation by clearly demarcating them from the new colored colonial subjects of the US empire despite the friendly reminder of their shared struggles.[3] In fact, here "the same color" does not simply evoke some superficial, perceived phenotypical similarities, but a myriad of racial conflicts during this period where "color" was a fundamental structuring principle: from rampant violence against blacks that occurred alongside periods of labor unrest, US imperial ventures in the Caribbean and the Asia Pacific, the continuation of Chinese exclusion, to heightened anti-immigrant sentiment often fueled by both nationalism and white heterosexual morality. Read within these contexts, Jackson's declaration of patriotism through "go[ing] along with the killing" dramatizes the cynical and divisive effects of nationalist identification on racialized groups. Similar to what Helen Jun calls "black orientalism" in nineteenth-century anti-Chinese rhetoric in the black press, here the logic of nationalist identification facilitates a disavowal of linked processes of racialization, thus instantly forestalling possible horizontal affiliations among disenfranchised subjects within and beyond national borders.[4] The point here is not to make a moral or political judgment about the *individual* intention and motivation behind Jackson's refusal, but rather to unravel the process of subject production: Jackson's account illuminates that US nationalist identification—and its discursive and ideological effects—*demand* his disavowal and exclusion for claiming citizenship in domestic and imperial race relations.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, African American cultural production was a crucial site where the US empire's demand for nationalist identification was negotiated on the home front. Through imagining African Americans' relationship to other racialized subjects as well as the emerging black middle class's relationship to the heterogeneous constituencies of the black community, African American writers negotiated US nationalist identification in distinct gendered terms, or as Claudia Tate observes, in the terms of the male discourse of citizenship rights and the female discourse of respectable marriage.[5] This essay examines such different yet related articulations in the *Colored American Magazine* (1900–1909), the most widely read African American periodical in the first decade of the twentieth century, and in the works of Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins, the magazine's best-known female personality and a representative writer from the "Woman's Era."[6] As a crucial venue for African American intellectuals to speak out against black disenfranchisement and sexual stigmatization, the pages of the magazine featured the valorization of black soldiers' contributions to US imperial ventures and the debates about black racial uplift alongside the celebration of black

middle-class achievement, ethnographic accounts about Asia and Africa, anti-immigrant commentaries, as well as antiracist essays and fictional narratives of love and marriage written by Hopkins, who was the magazine's founder, executive editor, and literary editor until 1903.[7] By foregrounding the effects of nationalist identification on the imagining of black–Asian relations under US imperial rule in selective African American cultural production, this essay advances scholarship on *CAM*'s complex negotiations of domestic black–white racial politics and the recent reassessment of Hopkins's transnational, cross-racial, and anti-imperial critiques in her later fiction and her recently reprinted journalistic works.[8] Given the centrality of citizenship and marriage in the period's gendered discourses of racial uplift, this essay situates the workings of these two tropes in cross-racial and transnational contexts by first examining representations of black–Asian relations in *CAM*. To understand how Hopkins problematizes the magazine's prevailing masculine cultural nationalist vision, this essay then analyzes her use of the period's popular trope of intraracial love and marriage as signs of full humanity and citizenship attainment in *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* (1900), her first and only novel in book form that *CAM* actively marketed in its pages.[9] The novel's domestic and transnational framing of the marriage plot suggests that marriage, as an institution that maintains state power and naturalizes nationalist identification, is unable to eliminate the class conflicts and color-based hierarchies within black communities as critics often assume. Moreover, the novel suggests that the reliance on marriage for citizenship attainment cannot resolve the racialized and gendered contradictions of the period's rights discourses couched in the nation form, particularly when domestic racial conflicts and US imperial conquests intensified the demand for racialized subjects' allegiance. The last section of the essay turns to Hopkins's further reflection on the very problem of nationalist identification in her recently reprinted essays on international race relations in *The Voice of the Negro*, another important African American periodical in the early twentieth century.

While this essay reassesses critical interpretations of Hopkins's selective works, my goal here is not to reproduce the common polarization in Hopkins scholarship. Largely informed by cultural nationalist premises, such polarization is often a result of the demand for a clear-cut statement of the complex, contradictory, and ambivalent politics in Hopkins's works, i.e., to argue whether or not Hopkins—as an author, a historical figure, and a singular subject of some kind of "empirical" knowledge—is either complicit or resistant to the period's dominant ideology, and whether she is conservative or radical. These issues, as well as the question of the author's agency, are no doubt important. However, the guiding interpretive premises in this essay are that authors are complex, multiply produced discursive subjects, and that our partial understanding of the authors is necessarily already mediated by editorial practices and discursive constraints. By foregrounding processes of subject production, this essay explores one key question that is often not immediately intelligible and cannot be readily answered by simply following established

conventions of literary studies, particularly exclusively cultural nationalist author-based or genre-based approaches: how the politics of recognition and affirmation produce contradictory, messy, and ambivalent relationships *between* historically disenfranchised subjects. If following the US imperial script is a crucial criterion for black Americans to reclaim their humanity and citizenship, this script also demands that they negotiate the empire's articulations of its nationalist racialized power structure in the international arena—the structure that justifies US imperial ventures in the Philippines and China with racial constructions that blur the boundaries between the "colored" Americans and other "colored" peoples by framing the Chinese as "yellow slaves" for exclusion, while "negroizing" the Filipinos as "the white man's burden" for "benevolent assimilation."[10] In these contexts of comparative racialization, reading Hopkins's selective works as critical responses to masculine nationalist representations of black–Asian relations in *CAM* illuminates the divisive effects of nationalist identification on differentially racialized subjects, the uneven effects of marriage on the black community, and this institution's structural ties to imperialism and to the color-based class hierarchy within the imagined black community—all of which call for radical reimagining of race relations beyond the nation form.

II. Imperial Ambivalence in Black Orientalism

Established in Boston to promote "the higher culture of Religion, Literature, Science, Music, and Art of the Negro, universally,"[11] *CAM* produced discourses of racial uplift by negotiating the heterogeneous constituencies of an imagined black community while addressing the magazine's black and white readership as well as mediating between accommodationist and radical politics.[12] Unlike Jackson's account, articulations of what might be considered an early phase of black cultural nationalism in *CAM* do not always posit the US nation-state simply as a point of identification and allegiance, but also as a site of struggle, against the violence of which a black collective identity was to be forged. Despite such uneven accounts that register black citizens' ambivalence toward the US nation-state, in both cases the US nation-state—just as marriage in the period's African American women's domestic fiction—is often presumed to be the guarantor of freedom and equality, regardless of the failed delivery or deferral of its promise. Given *CAM*'s racially divided readers and the period's conflicting ideologies that the magazine negotiated, it is difficult to generalize *CAM*'s political and ideological tendencies without risking oversimplification. While the magazine's early issues featured biographical sketches of black antiracist revolutionaries both inside and beyond the US, masculine expressions of nationalist attachment were particularly visible in accounts about international racial conflicts. For example, in "The Eighth Illinois, U.S.V." published in June 1900, the author, Charles Winslow Hall, criticizes the scant recognition of the "negro citizen's" contribution in the Spanish–American War and the fact that African

American soldiers were "sedulously minimized by the American press"; meanwhile, he also reinstates the racial authority of the US by reclaiming African Americans in nationalist terms.[13] At the very beginning of this essay, Hall remarks that "the African people have been noted for military efficiency in the long and bloody annals of the world's wars." He then links African Americans to this ancestral legacy, stating that "colonial legends" of North America are "full of incidental recognition of the services of both slaves and freeman of color" (94). Lauding the willingness of the "negro regiment," the Eighth Illinois, to be sent overseas to relieve white troops at Santiago, Hall contends that this regiment "demonstrated . . . the hereditary patriotism and fitness for military duty of the colored race, and the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Afro-American, who still hopes and strives to vindicate the manhood and equality of its people," even though the regiment ceased to exist soon after returning to US soil.[14]

Given mainstream media's almost exclusive attention to white soldiers during this period, Hall's appeal for recognition and inclusion was indeed urgent and necessary. However, similar to Jackson's account discussed earlier, such an appeal also produces divisive effects. In Hall's case, the glorification of the "colored" regiment relies on a biologically based racial discourse that links African Americans to Africans rather than separating them. By contrast, in other instances the emerging discourse of black cultural nationalism in *CAM* often conscientiously distinguishes the "colored Americans," who were portrayed as exemplifying mainstream "American" values, including respectable marriage, from the immigrants as well as the "polygamous," "primitive" peoples in Africa and Asia. Here this emerging cultural nationalism also constitutes itself through simultaneously downplaying internal heterogeneity by suturing together the divided black community, similar to what the marriage plot in Hopkins's *Contending Forces* attempts to accomplish but also ultimately problematizes. As is evident in the critique of the nation form that Hopkins began to articulate in *Contending Forces*, her elaboration on race-based international and transnational alliances in her later works, and W. E. B. Du Bois's turn to internationalism, nationalist frameworks could not adequately contest black disenfranchisement, nor could they successfully resolve the divisions among different constituencies of the black community and address the structurally produced antagonism between blacks and other racialized subjects.[15]

From its early days, *CAM* carefully balanced the project of black uplift and the need to appeal to its patrons, black and white, as well as accommodationist and radical politics. Before Booker T. Washington became the editor in June 1904, the magazine recognized his influence while also acknowledging the increasing opposition to his accommodationist stance by progressive African Americans, particularly the magazine's hometown audience. In many instances, this balancing act necessitated carefully aligning African Americans with mainstream perceptions of progress and US national and imperial interests while articulating poignant critiques of structural racism. Quite often, the magazine featured socially and economically

successful African Americans as well as middle-class values, from hard work, frugality, women's work for the race, to Christian domesticity. This discourse of racial uplift also emerges through the imagining of American "frontiers," both the geographical "American West" and potential colonial sites overseas, echoing the period's dominant rhetoric of westward expansion. In addition to portraying California as the promise land for African Americans,[16] *CAM* featured missionary and ethnographic accounts that define hardworking, Christian, enterprising African Americans over and against the primitive, polygamous peoples in Africa and Asia.[17]

This predominant Christian sentiment also manifests itself in commentaries on the sexual mores of "other" cultures. "Furnace Blasts," an essay on "the social evil among all classes and races in America," published in 1903 under Pauline Hopkins's pseudonym, notes the increase of mixed-race children born to white mothers in Massachusetts and appeals to Christianity in order to denounce antimiscegenation laws—which, as Hopkins claims, made "an institution ordained by our Creator, unlawful."[18] In this case, appeals to Christian monogamy contest racist legislation; in other places, ethnographic accounts in the magazine draw on the common colonial trope of sexual deviancy, where non-heterosexual practices operate as inherently racialized signs of cultural inferiority. For example, Siam is described as "the place for Brigham Young's followers," where "you can have as many wives as you like."[19] The "barbarism" of the Ashantis in Africa is dramatized in "The King of Ashanti and His 3333 Wives," where the emphasis on the excessive polygamy of the King is paired with commentaries on his cruelty and despotism. The King, according to the narrator, walked "in front of his arm offering sacrifices of virgins every hour."[20] Here polygamy may be read as an expression of the King's greed and materialism, i.e., tendencies that Hopkins later explicitly criticizes in her self-published essays; at the same time, this specific framing of the King's "deviance" resonates with the period's popular construction of polygamy as a defining sign of racialized cultural difference.[21]

After Hopkins left *CAM* and Washington became the editor, pressing questions of immigration and related labor conflicts—which can be understood as domestic manifestations of imperialism—continued to inform the magazine's articulations of black nationalism.[22] While the urgency to distinguish African Americans from immigrants in the midst of heated national debates appeared evident in the magazine, the trajectory of Hopkins's political imagination about interracial relations became ever more increasingly international in scope. In 1907, the magazine reprinted several commentaries that were originally published in Boston's newspapers in 1891 in response to the ongoing debate about Asian immigration, particularly to the claims for equal rights in the US made by Japanese immigrants. Entitled "Chinese vs. Negroes," these commentaries rely on the comparison between these two racialized groups to either contest the prevailing anti-Chinese sentiment or to defend the superiority of African Americans. The first entry, from the *Boston Herald*, opposes the argument that "the Negroes are superior to the Chinese" in possessing the qualities needed for self-government, hence better

fitted to be American citizens.[23] Offering examples of the Chinese's superiority, this entry concludes that "it is clear that those who deny it [US citizenship] to the Chinese on the grounds of their unfitness have no right to adversely criticize their fellow-citizens who deny [it] to the Negroes," without advocating granting or denying citizenship to either (108). Taking issue with the anti-Chinese sentiment harbored by supporters of black rights, this entry exposes the contradiction within nationalist rights discourses. Moreover, this ostensibly antiracist argument also exemplifies the cynical divide-and-conquer effects of this particular rights discourse: the exclusionary logic of its promise of inclusion pits marginalized groups against one another while keeping intact, or even further strengthening, the dominant power structure. The responses to this entry reproduce this logic and its effects: to defend African Americans' entitlement to equal rights, these responses underline the "Americanness" and the Christian faith of African Americans while marking the Chinese as undeserving aliens.[24] S. R. Scottron, whose reply is highlighted in the editor's introductory comments, states that "the Negro American is actually the only American, every one of whom could be trusted to bear arms against any foreign foe whatsoever. The only people, every one of whom could be trusted to defend our institutions against anarchism. . . . Would you place the sword in the hands of the Chinese?" After evoking national security as the basis of his argument, Scottron follows up with a familiar anti-immigrant argument that is still prevalent in the twenty-first century, one that distinguishes between "American" labor and "foreign" labor: both the product and the reward of "the Negro's labor" go to the "enrichment of the country," but the same thing cannot be said of the Chinese laborer or "any class of foreign laborers."[25]

This nativist perspective not only reproduces the dominant discourse's erasure of indispensable Chinese labor in nineteenth-century US economy, but it also informs anti-European-immigrant commentaries in the magazine, largely driven by the fear that the arrival of "evil" European immigrants in the South would threaten African Americans' ownership of land, property, and employment opportunities as Southern whites enlisted these immigrants to further expand their power.[26] This fear of competition is further complicated by the "denationalization" of African Americans through the familiar imperialist proposal of solving "the Negro problem" by sending them overseas, rationalizing that they would be more effective agents than whites for the US empire, both in Africa and the Philippines, due to their presumed racial affinity to the "colored" peoples—a dominant construction that Hopkins reframes as the basis of international anti-imperial alliance in her later journalistic writings.[27]

Countering denationalization and further racialization of blacks shaped by US imperial ventures, the imagining of black nationalism in *CAM* tends to increasingly redraw the lines between the colored "Americans" and racialized "aliens" in later years. Meanwhile, the claims for equal rights create a monolithic cultural nationalism that, in many cases, align African Americans with the interests of the dominant

power in contrast to the early biographies of black revolutionaries and the emerging critiques of capitalism and middle-class values in later issues.[28] Whereas *CAM* negotiates the enduring contradiction between the demand for national allegiance and the imperial discourse's denationalization of African Americans—who were simultaneously positioned inside and outside the US nation—in light of the period's male discourse of race and citizenship, Hopkins takes up this contradiction by looking both "inward" and "outward": on the one hand, probing the national and transnational implications of the period's female discourse of citizenship attainment through marriage in *Contending Forces*, and on the other hand, working through her ambivalence toward Chinese immigration and US imperial expansion in the Asia Pacific in her journalistic writings.[29]

III. Dora, the Forgotten Working Girl: The Racial Contradictions of Marriage and Citizenship

Set in Boston against the backdrop of the late-eighteenth-century slave trade from the Caribbean to the United States, *Contending Forces* opens with the relocation of an English slaveholding family from Bermuda to the United States for fear of losing their property upon the abolition of slavery in Britain. The narrative chronicles the disintegration and reconstitution of this family, the Montforts, and their descendants' struggle to survive the legacies of slavery and the vicissitudes of capitalism. Focusing on two particular moments, Charles and Grace Montfort's relocation from Bermuda to North Carolina with their two sons in the 1790s and their descendants' establishment in Boston in the 1890s, the narrative foregrounds how a family's history encapsulates the reordering of social relations from slavery to the post-emancipation era. During the time of slavery, the Montfort family is torn apart by mob violence instigated by a white slave trader who covets Charles's possessions, including his wife Grace, while later parts of the family history climax with a similar incident characteristic of post-emancipation racial violence. The novel concludes with the restoration of the Montfort family's inheritance overseas, the repossession of family property by its descendants, their ascendance into respectable, intraracial domesticity through marriage, and their commitment to "race work." Thus offering glimpses into the history of racial violence through vignettes of sexual conflicts and romantic encounters, *Contending Forces* interweaves debates about racial uplift and African American women's sexuality and labor into narratives of courtship that culminate in two single working mulattos' (Sappho Clark's and Dora Smith's) proper marriages. Accordingly, this narrative envisions the possibility for African Americans to achieve full citizenship all the while insisting on remembering and challenging the legacies of slavery that persisted in the post-emancipation era. Moreover, the depiction of two single racialized working women's symbolic (re)claiming of "true womanhood" through the suppression of homoerotic desire, as Siobhan Somerville

argues,[30] reveals how race informs the period's constructions of sexual pathology and emerging white heterosexual norms.[31]

As a historical romance that indicts institutionalized crimes of lynching and rape propelled by the thirst for wealth, *Contending Forces* employs the trope of intraracial love and marriage in domestic fiction to probe the efficacy of marriage to reclaim African Americans' citizenship rights and to facilitate "race work," the international dimensions and potential imperial ramifications of which Hopkins further foregrounds and explores in greater depth in her last novel, *Of One Blood*. Much scholarship has elaborated on how the use of the marriage plot—or what Ann duCille calls "the coupling convention"—enables Hopkins and other African American women writers of the period to lay claim to womanhood and to reorder gender relations within increasingly patriarchal black communities through imagining marriage not as an unequal institution but as an equal partnership. While this argument is often made with regard to the redemption of fair-skinned Sappho, a victim of rape who inherits the tragic past of the Montfort family, much less attention has been devoted to the labor and class politics of the darker-skinned Dora's less dramatic path toward domesticity: her story, often seen primarily as a supporting parallel plot to the main marriage plot, is a tale of a working girl reluctant to be subsumed into domesticity rather than a more typical narrative of a sentimental heroine, like Sappho's. The implications of the overall structure of the marriage plot—which concludes by subsuming queer intimacy and Dora's complaint about unequal labor division within marriage into the structure of three intraracial and intraclass marriages, where the most respectable, lightest-skinned couple travels to England to reclaim the husband's ancestral property passed down by white slave owners—also remain underexplored.[32] As will be discussed below, Dora's story and the overall structure of the marriage plot both problematize marriage as an idealized vehicle to achieve citizenship, especially when read in the context where class conflicts—shaped by the "contending forces" of labor and capital in the period's rapidly expanding market economy—presented challenges to the formation of politicized black communities after emancipation.[33] In the masculine discourse of black nationalism in *CAM*, the contradiction of nationalist identification creates imperial ambivalence and divisions among racialized subjects; in *Contending Forces*, the reliance on a state-sanctioned instrument structurally tied to racism and capitalism to contest the dehumanization and exploitation of black subjects ironically reproduces the class- and color-based divisions *within* the black community and signals their ambivalent relationship to the legacies of slave trade and US imperialism.

In the scene where Dora and Sappho share an intimate moment before the narrative of heterosexual courtship develops in full swing, Dora questions the myth of marriage as she contemplates her relationship with her fiancé, John Pollock Langley: "I like him well enough to marry him, but I don't believe there's enough sentiment in me to make love a great passion, such as we read of in books. Do you

believe marriage is the beautiful state it is painted by writers?"[34] Here, Dora's misgiving about the prospect of her marriage unmasks the problematic cultural construction of marriage as the ideal, ultimate expression of passionate love—a rhetorical move common in the period's domestic fiction—thus self-referentially calling this tradition into question.[35] This questioning of marriage is then followed by Dora's expression of her impatience with a permanent monogamous relationship later in the dialogue: "What troubles me is having a man bothering around. Now I tell John P. that I'm busy or something like that, and I'm rid of him; but after you marry a man, he's on your hands for good and all. I'm wondering if my love could stand the test."[36] Within the context of the marriage plot, Dora's reservation paves way for the gradual revelation of John Pollock Langley as a villain—whose greed driven by his "white blood" tears apart the black community—and eventually for her marriage to Arthur Lewis, a much more desirable and "correct" mate. Meanwhile, her discontent echoes nineteenth-century feminist critique of the doctrine of coverture that institutionalizes the dispossession of women's claims to self-ownership, the most conspicuous manifestations of which include unpaid reproductive labor and the service of sex "owned" by the husband.[37] Taking this critique further to address the specificities of black women's labor conditions, Dora's refusal to uncritically embrace the alleged promise of marriage reverses the rights and obligations defined in this doctrine: she depicts the husband as dependent on the wife's labor through the metaphor of "hands," thereby highlighting the economic burden of black women within marriage rather than advancing an argument for rights as in white women's rights discourse, i.e., the wife's entitlement to her unpaid labor at home and earnings outside of home.

In contrast to Sappho's redemption through marriage, Dora's critique registers an underlying ambivalence toward the symbolic significance of marriage as an unproblematic affirmation of African Americans' humanity and entitlement to citizenship that the novel's conclusion—and the period's African American female-authored domestic fiction—seems to endorse unequivocally. As a commentary on the ordinary, darker-skinned African American laboring woman's predicament in contrast to fair-skinned Sappho's relative class privileges, Dora's misgiving about this supposedly normative path to transcend the violent history of racialization highlights African American women's conflicting positions so rendered by the racial ideology of true womanhood—an institution of sexuality, race, and labor premised on the doctrine of coverture.[38] In the second half of the nineteenth century, when women's participation in the labor force was necessitated by industrialization and put pressure on the doctrine of coverture, this transformation also exposed this doctrine's contradiction with the ideology of the free market, particularly around the controversies over unpaid domestic labor, wives' rights to earnings, and feminist critiques of marriage as prostitution (i.e., free lifelong sex service exclusively owned by the husband). These changes hence prompted the outcry against the "immoral" commodification of white women's sex and labor; by contrast, racialized women

continued to be viewed as sexually and morally degenerate and thus unfit for marriage.[39] During this period, the black wife was expected to work outside of home, mostly as domestic and low-wage labor, and the majority of black men were relegated to low-wage jobs and therefore unable to earn a family wage.[40] Within this context, Dora's misgiving underscores that marriage is not—as it is framed in the period's white women's rights discourse—simply an institution that delegitimizes the wife's entitlement to unpaid domestic labor and earnings outside of home. Rather, her commentaries reveal the inherent racial contradictions of marriage: despite the social demand for heterosexual conformity and some black women's desire to "emulate" white domesticity, marriage did not "cover" the period's many black working wives but rendered additional burdens, as their underpaid labor outside of home and unpaid labor at home were indispensable to both black and white families.[41] Moreover, Dora's comments imply a specific potential consequence of the racialized contradictions of women's rights discourses: if African American women were to take up the position of a feminist subject defined in white feminist terms (as many did historically), it would not only create conflicts with the patriarchal rubric of racial uplift but also possibly reinforce the dominant construction of their sexual promiscuity that rationalized the period's moral charges and criminalization.[42] Thus, insofar as the scene of intimate exchanges between Dora and Sappho depicts Dora's affection for Sappho and her dissatisfaction with the bondage of marriage that makes her feel "unsexed," Dora's discontent, what Sappho refers to as "queer talk," also highlights her deviation from the heterosexual racialized labor division, rights, and obligations defined by the doctrine of coverture.[43]

Ultimately, the narrative resolves the disruptions on the path to heterosexual domesticity through a forced closure that conforms to the generic conventions of romance: Dora's deviation—and deviance—is ultimately contained by her marriage with Arthur Lewis, which, unlike the relative equality between Sappho and Will, is governed by conventional gender norms, where the patriarchal imperatives of the black community ultimately subsume Dora's "queer talk." Particularly read in relation to an early description of Arthur's comment that "women should be seen and not heard, where politics is under discussion" (126), the "reform" of the discontented Dora is most strikingly marked by her silence toward the end of the narrative, where "her own individuality [is] swallowed up in love for her husband and child" (390). While the masculine black nationalism in *CAM* creates divisions between blacks and other racialized working peoples and colonial subjects, in *Contending Forces* the ambivalent ir/resolution of Dora's story highlights African American women's complicated relation to the trope of heterosexual domesticity so rendered by the contradictions in both white women's rights discourse and the black discourse of racial uplift: the contradictions between their gender- or race-based "universal" claims and their exclusionary articulations simultaneously subsume non-heterosexual desires, erase the racial and gender specificities of the conditions of African American women's labor, and obscure class difference.

IV. Domesticity under the Shadow of Slavery: Capitalism and Its Reproduction

The ostensibly seamless closure of the marriage plot in *Contending Forces* is also undermined by the persistent legacies of slavery that highlight the unceasing tension between slavery and marriage as well as their mutually constitutive relations. The series of incidents triggered by the revelation of Sappho's past—that she was raped by her white uncle—highlight that the institution of marriage was still structurally connected to the unrelenting violence against African American women and the ruthless commodification of their bodies and sexuality in spite of emancipation. The portrayal of John Pollock Langley, who was once Dora's fiancé, best illustrates the sexual economy of slavery and marriage: while he intends to "marry Dora for mercenary reasons," he also makes aggressive sexual advances toward Sappho because "to his mind that was no obstacle to the consummation and lifelong duration of an illicit love" (227). Here, Langley's attitude lays bare the historical and structural ties between marriage and slavery: as mutually constitutive institutions, they maintain white patriarchal power by exploiting black women as economic instruments and sexual objects, thus simultaneously ensuring the accumulation of wealth and legitimizing rape and concubinage, both during slavery and after emancipation. At this critical moment, the "white blood" of John Pollock Langley passed down from his grandfather Anson Pollock—the instigator of the mob violence that disrupted the first generation of the Montfort family—comes back to haunt the female descendant of this family regardless of his "black blood," which supposedly grants him membership in the black community. Both an insider and an enemy of the black community, Langley represents the violent force of capitalism that undermines the period's formation of a cohesive black community, from within and without, and renders untenable a stable, monolithic "blackness."

At the conclusion of the novel, the most respectable couple among the three, Sappho and Will, depart for England along with their family to reclaim their ancestral property derived from the slave trade upon the US government's affirmation of their entitlement, followed by their commitment to "race work" overseas. While this repossession of ancestral property symbolizes the attainment of personhood and citizenship, particularly for the male head of the family, it also serves as a reminder of the persistent and pervasive legacies of slavery embedded in the institution of private property.[44] The ending thus epitomizes the contradictory position of this "uplifted" family in relation to the transnational legacies of slavery and to US imperial expansionism—particularly when this ending is read contextually in relation to African Americans' ambivalence toward US imperialism as made evident by *CAM* and Hopkins's journalistic works, which will be discussed in the next section.[45] Instead of inhabiting the space of the universal abstract citizen by disassociating from the past and starting their "reformed" life as a tabula rasa, "becoming citizen" also necessitates their inheritance of the trans-Atlantic legacies of slavery (including Sappho's child born of rape) and, as in the case of Jackson's account of patriotism

discussed earlier, their negotiation with the script of US nationalism and imperialism. The ending thus highlights the inevitable and inherent racialized contradiction of marriage: for racialized subjects, marriage cannot be a mere consummation of "pure" romantic love, as in the period's popular construction of "American love marriage" in contrast to polygamy, arranged marriages, and prostitution. Rather, marriage has always been constitutive of—thus tainted by—the racialized sexual economy that has historically relied on the legal mechanism of the state and their cultural institutions, such as proper domesticity, to regulate racialized working people's labor and sexuality by restricting their access to citizenship rights. Although critical assessment of Hopkins's relationship to US imperialism has been polarized, the most respectable couple's travel overseas at the end of the novel underscores Christian middle-class African Americans' ambivalent and contradictory relationship to US imperialist projects of domestication, assimilation, and conquest: this cannot be reduced to a simple story of either complicity or resistance based on the author's intention; rather, it is one marked by complicated negotiations. In *Contending Forces*, respectable African Americans' participation, appropriation, and/or contestation of US imperialism is, somewhat paradoxically, enabled by and contingent on (if not obligated by) their claim of full citizenship rights, particularly property and marriage rights, thus exposing the problems and limitations of attaching their emancipation and "race work" to the nation form. While the ancestral property symbolizes the resurrection of the ghost from the past, the presence of Sappho's child represents the legacies of slavery that will extend into the future, which are much harder to divest oneself of and to come to terms with. Through making visible the contradictions of property rights and disrupting the linear progression from slavery to domesticity, both the theme and the narrative structure link the fleeting transcendence at the conclusion to the omnipresence of the past at the present and in the future, marking the persistent irresolution between slavery and marriage that haunts the novel's seemingly seamless closure.

Insofar as the irresolvable tension between marriage and slavery problematizes black nationalism's attachment to the promise of citizenship rights, this irresolution also reveals the fallacy of the metaphor of marriage as sexual slavery in nineteenth-century white women's rights discourse, which would collapse the two. By likening marriage to lifelong unpaid prostitution and sex slavery, this metaphor in white women's rights discourse highlights how marriage unjustly deprives the wife of her ownership of body and labor. For African American women, in contrast, this dispossession is a necessary condition to achieve recognition of their womanhood. The novel's seemingly conclusive utopian vision that registers the contradiction between the political significance of marriage for African American women and the systematic denial of it, therefore, exposes white middle- and upper-class women's and African American women's uneven access to citizenship rights through marriage: an important material and historical difference that the metaphor of marriage as prostitution or sex slavery glosses over through rhetorical slippage.

As the trope of intraracial domesticity signifies the (precarious) ascendance of African Americans into full humanity and citizenship as a collective, the gender-, class-, and color-based hierarchies within the three marriages with which the novel concludes ironically expose the historical function of marriage as an institution that produces—rather than eliminates—differences and inequalities. While historical and legal scholarship shows how marriage produces "deserving" citizens and protects their rights while rationalizing the exclusion of racialized, working, and immigrant populations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *Contending Forces* illuminates that such divisive and regulatory effects also shape the unequal relations *within* the black community. Among the three intraracial and intraclass marriages, the class relations among the three couples' female characters remain the same after their marriages, while Will's inheritance widens the economic gap between this leading, lighter-skinned couple and the darker-skinned Dora and Arthur Lewis, who stay in the United States for race work. Moreover, the gap between the two middle-class couples and the rest of the black community also remains if not widens, the latter of which is represented by the enterprising working-class couple, Ophelia Davis and Tommy James, whose relationship is not based on love but economic partnership. As if simultaneously satirizing and mimicking the notorious "separate but equal" doctrine in Jim Crow America, the "coupling convention" in *Contending Forces* ironically reproduces the class- and color-based hierarchies among the three couples. Just as the racial terms of nationalist identification produced divisions among blacks, the Filipinos, and the Chinese in *CAM*, the novel's ending suggests that attempts to lay claim to citizenship rights through a state-sanctioned institution—marriage—may perpetuate the economically based gender, racial, labor, and sexual divisions of the broader US society *within* the black community. Thus, the ending problematizes the viability of marriage to "uplift" the entire race, regardless of the individual upward mobility that it enables. In other words, the coupling convention here normalizes a highly selective segment of the black community at the expense of the widening gaps between those who are granted access to the privileges of citizenship and those who continue to be excluded and criminalized—the unmarried, working African Americans, whom this ideal vision of racial uplift composed of a handful of privileged members cannot fully represent.[46]

Foregrounding the internal hierarchies produced by nationalist identification and citizenship secured through marriage and African Americans' contradictory relationship to US imperialism, *Contending Forces* complicates the masculine cultural nationalist vision of *CAM*'s editorship, a clash that allegedly resulted in Hopkins's departure from the magazine.[47] The novel suggests that marriage, as the legal institution of what Adrienne Rich calls "compulsory heterosexuality" and as a device to redefine "blackness," is problematic not so much because it "turns blacks white." More importantly, it is intrinsically tied to capitalist modes of accumulation, which have historically devalued racialized women's labor through sexually stigmatizing as well as disenfranchising African Americans, the Chinese, and other "sexual deviants"

through citizenship and immigration laws. The marriage plot in *Contending Forces* illuminates that the uncritical embrace of marriage as a path toward freedom and citizenship attainment naturalizes and reproduces divisions despite seeming to suture together a heterogeneous and increasingly divided community. By problematizing marriage as a capitalist state institution that ironically reproduces the problems that it promises to solve, the novel anticipates a new vision of social and political transformation that actively uncouples the desire for more just futures from the longing for recognition by the US nation and empire.

V. Of One Blood, Yet Different: The Contradictions and Limits of Antiracist Internationalism

Hopkins develops this new vision in her later works, most explicitly in her radical literary journalism that has just been recently uncovered.[48] The remainder of this essay discusses a series of essays that Hopkins published from February 1905 to July 1905 in *The Voice of the Negro*, which she joined after leaving *CAM*. By focusing on Hopkins's imagining of African Americans' relationship to other racialized peoples in her formulation of international antiracist alliance, this section further investigates the complex interracial dynamics that Colleen O'Brien's important reassessment of Hopkins's relationship to US imperialism mentions in passing: the "not unproblematic" appropriation of indigenous culture and the Afrocentricity in her formulation of international antiracist and anti-imperial insurgency. Entitled "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century," Hopkins's largely overlooked essays in *The Voice of the Negro* offer ethnological accounts of "dark races" around the world—from the Asia Pacific, Africa, to North America—in an attempt to articulate coalition politics based on her belief in monogenesis in order to oppose Anglo-Saxon racism.[49] Before these essays outlined this new vision fully and explicitly in international contexts, her essay "Munroe Rogers," published in *CAM* in 1902, presented an earlier version that was prompted by her reflection on domestic racism that demands solutions beyond nationalist frameworks. Here, Hopkins chronicles the unfair treatment of a young African American man in the workplace and his subsequent unwarranted arrest based on a trumped-up charge. Underscoring the injustice meted out to black men in the South, she critiques capitalism as well as the US government's complicity in the abuse of black labor. "What is the chief end of man?" she asks. While it used to be to "glorify God and enjoy him forever," the goal, as she remarks, became "to put dollars into the hands of our political bosses."[50] From the case of Munroe Rogers, Hopkins delineates a broader picture in which this particular form of injustice is a constitutive part. Echoing her earlier comment in this essay that "contending forces are driving the common people together" (22), she states that "the labor question, the question of suffrage . . . , the Negro question . . . are slowly being merged into one great question" of common people, among whom "the Negro is a recognized factor" (26). As she further elaborates, "The solution of one of

these living issues must eventually solve the other two, and no finite power can stay the event. Herein lies our only hope" (26). Here, Hopkins frames labor exploitation, racism against African Americans, and women's suffrage as connected issues concerning all common people rather than focusing simply on race. Contrasting sharply with nineteenth-century women's rights discourse that focused exclusively on individual political rights, Hopkins's view can be seen as a precursor to Alice Walker's "womanism," which challenges mainstream women's rights activists' exclusive focus on white, middle-class, heterosexual women's issues as well as the politically limiting and divisive understanding of gender as a category separate from—rather than intersecting with—other categories of social stratification, such as race, sexuality, class, and citizenship. Here, Hopkins ends her passionate critique of divisive thinking with a forecast of a transnational racial uprising inspired by the Haitian revolution, a vision she further develops in her later journalistic works.[51]

In "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century," Hopkins explores this understanding of connected unequal relations in international contexts by building on the Afrocentric view of monogenesis that she formulates in her serial novel, *Of One Blood*. As a counterdiscourse to nationalist and imperialist white supremacy, in "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century" this view merges with the notion of connectedness to include "dark" peoples in the Asia Pacific, Africa, and North America. Here, Hopkins reframes the Afrocentric counterdiscourse to construct a political vision of worldwide coalition: "the persistent rise of the dark men in the social scale and their wonderful increase in numbers" against "the ultimate desire of the Anglo-Saxon . . . the complete subjugation of all dark races to themselves."[52] In the second installment, "The Malay Peninsula: Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and the Philippines," she further fleshes out the basis of this global alliance, the complexities and wide varieties of "the dark races," and the artificial scientific racial categorization:

> In this study of the dark races actually living today upon the globe, the reader or student is deeply impressed with the infinite variety of mixture in these races. This very mingling of races proves the theory of "one blood." Indeed, the principle that the human species is *one* cannot be disputed, and all men that inhabit the earth are but varieties of this one species. Next to the curiosity aroused by these so-called "human leopards" comes wonder at the persistent efforts of scientists to separate the dark races endowed with European characteristics, from any possible connection with the Negro, or more properly speaking, African race. (315)

Using ethnological studies of "race-mixing" to advance the view that man was created in one center with "a triple complexion in the family of Noah" (white, black, and yellow), she further draws on the lexicon of the period's dominant discourse of scientific racism to refute its dubious legitimacy by naming common phenotypical features across races (315). In the third installment, "The Yellow Race: Siam, China, Japan, Korea, Thibet," she claims that among the "Yellow race," also known as the Mongol race, "we find the same flat nose that marks the Guinea Negro and the same peculiar shape of the head," which are the very "objectionable ones supposed to distinguish the black race alone." Moreover, Northern Germans of the Caucasian race have "the same head development" that marks the Guinea Negro, while the lower classes of Irish peasantry have the "flat feet, bent shapeless body" as the Negro. Based on these observations, Hopkins argues that "the characteristics supposed to be peculiar to the Negro are common to all members of the human species *under conditions which tend to leave undeveloped the faculties of the mind*" (317, emphasis mine). In other words, while she utilizes shared phenotypical features across races to support her view of monogenesis, she also maintains that these features are shared only among members with "undeveloped . . . faculties of the mind" that could likely be attributed to external rather than biological factors. In this case, the dominant discourse of racial hierarchy is thus replaced with a discourse that might be called evolutionary ethnology.

This tension between the claim of universal humanity based on "one blood" and the implicit hierarchy in this discourse of evolutionary ethnology is also evident in the last installment on North American Indians. Here, Hopkins debunks the common basis of racial classification, stating that "the color of the skin, texture of the hair, the development of the cranium and even language, are not infallible indications of race origin" (329). On the contrary, as she claims, "Though many and diverse are the roads that lead man to the higher life, they all pursue about the same course, and time only is required to unite them into one broad stream of progress." Evoking ethnology again to counter scientific racism, she remarks that "many are lessons taught by ethnology, but the grandest of them all is the lesson of the unity of mankind, the unity of a common nature and a common destiny" (331). This unity, she believes, will put "men with red blood in their veins" over "the sluggishness of the cold materialist," i.e., those "men who will teach the Anglo-Saxon that 'all men were created equal' and that '*all men*' are not *white* men," in the context of "the great labor contest which will inevitably come to our common country" (330). Just as Hopkins's view on miscegenation paradoxically reinstates the superiority of "white blood," as many scholars have discussed, her vision of antiracist human unity and common destiny also entails evolutionary hierarchies, at least in cultural terms. In her view, "the great advance of Negroes of the United States" and Negresses achieving European standards of beauty and art prove the versatility of Africa's people (325, 329). However, these "developed Negroes" are not the majority in the world. In the last installment, she concludes that "the African race and its descendants are

divergent and undeveloped, ethnically considered, yet stand in close relationship to other races on the broad, indisputable plane of a common origin and a common brotherhood" (329).

This hierarchical view, just as the various racial, gender, and class contradictions inherent in rights discourses based on monolithic nationalist identification discussed earlier, is perhaps inevitable due to the internal universalist logic of Hopkins's instrument of opposition, ethnology. Characterized by Ira Dworkin as emphasizing "worldliness and transnationalism" beyond a narrow identity politics and as prototypical of modern analyses of postcolonialism,[53] Hopkins's vision of antiracist collective humanity, or a "united front" with other "darker races" through the framework of ethnology, is ironically fraught with colonial tropes, from racial progress to sexual customs as indicators of civilization—despite the fact that "objective" descriptions seem to override ethnocentric views in some cases.[54] Perhaps the most vivid example is the treatment of the Chinese of the "Yellow race." Describing the Chinese in China, Hopkins remarks, "civilization was the first to develop itself in former centuries, but in recent years they [the Chinese] have remained stationary, and their culture is now second rate compared with the advanced state of civilization reached by Europe and America. The government is a despotic monarchy, the emperor possessing unlimited power over all beneath him. Laws are severe, and for trifling offences the bamboo punishment is inflicted while serious crimes meet with death" (319). This rather stereotypical account is completed with another universalist commentary on women's status that underscores sexual customs as indicators of civilization, one that alludes to the period's dominant cultural construct that defines modern American "love" marriages in contrast to "barbaric," "alien" arranged marriages—the very construct underlying the period's popular trope of "yellow slavery": "The position of woman in China is a very humble one. Her birth is often regarded as unfortunate. The young girl lives shut up in her father's house. Her place is that of a servant. She is given in marriage without being consulted, and often in ignorance of her future husband's name."[55]

The tension between the call for a "united front" and this ethnocentric view that informs Hopkins's contradictory international racial politics is also evident in her response to the exclusion of the Chinese, one of the period's most severely stigmatized immigrants. On the one hand, Hopkins acknowledges the Chinese as "one of the darker races" subjected to racism as blacks. As she contends, "The great movement of the twentieth century is seen in the banding together of all white races as against the darker races, and in the Geary law which exclude Chinese from the United States" (319). On the other hand, the imperative of cultural nationalism shaped by evolutionary ethnology leads her to conclude that "although the Geary law bears on its face an injustice, yet to the student it but marks another mile-stone in the march of human progress" (321). This contradiction, characteristic also of her view on miscegenation and her treatment of marriage in *Contending Forces*, dramatizes the conflict between her vision of global racial solidarity and the

ideologies underlying the instrument that she relies on to formulate this very vision. Just as African American Captain W. H. Jackson was "go[ing] along with killing," the difficulty for racialized subjects to interrogate national allegiance—despite the call for a worldwide united racial front, or what might be called antiracist internationalism—also informs Hopkins's support of US colonization of the Philippines. While in other places Hopkins imagines transnational alliances between blacks and Filipinos, here she echoes the period's popular rhetoric of benevolent assimilation: she describes the Philippines as "destined to bring America, or more properly speaking the United States, prominently before the civilized world in the character of the promoter of human progress."[56] Moreover, while her skepticism about President Roosevelt's seeming defense of a black postmaster keeps her from fully embracing her allegiance to the US nation and empire,[57] her internationalism paradoxically aligns her vision of racial solidarity with US dominant discourse of progress. In other words, within Hopkins's "humanist internationalism," where "blood" forms the basis of the coalition politics of anti-imperialist and antiracist class struggles, "culture" appears to ironically mirror the evolutionary logic of scientific racism that she passionately refutes.

Through this contradictory vision of international antiracist alliance, Hopkins continues to negotiate the "contending forces" that undermine the utility of marriage for black racial uplift and complicate African Americans' relationship to US imperialism. Her works anticipate the vexed question that many contemporary scholars, most notably Audre Lorde, have raised in different contexts: whether or not the master's tools could dismantle the master's house.[58] As Hopkins's later turn in her radical journalism to what O'Brien calls "insurgent cosmopolitanism" makes clear, cultural nationalist approaches obscure the commonalities between distinct histories of antiracist struggles in national and transnational contexts. Equally important, the complexity of Hopkins's works highlights the urgency to attend to the *structural connections* that shape the dominant ideology's uneven effects on disenfranchised groups despite their shared histories and struggles.[59] To take historically marginalized cultural producers seriously is not only about recuperating forgotten archives and voices—it is also about considering the full range of complexities and contradictions that shape their subjectivities. So that contemporary readers could continue to gain critical insights into antiracist struggles from *CAM* writers' and Hopkins's tireless negotiations with dominant ideologies within their means, critics must examine their own perhaps unconscious attachment to cultural nationalism that has produced polarized interpretations. In this specific context, practicing critical imagination beyond the US nation and empire is not simply about evoking "transnational" as a descriptive term that signifies the "coverage" of differences outside of the nation based on some kind of material or imagined commonality. More importantly, it is about activating "transnational" as an analytic that unravels the unequal effects of such commonality on "inter-group" and relational dynamics, within and beyond the nation—even in the most radical vision of

social transformation—as well as its persistent struggle to undo nationalist, universalist, and developmental narratives.

Notes

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[1] W. H. Jackson, "From Our Friends in the Far East," *Colored American Magazine* 1, no. 2 (June 1900): 149. The *Colored American Magazine* will be referred to as *CAM* hereafter. For positive portrayals of Filipino society in *CAM*, see Colleen C. O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe': Anti-Imperialism, Insurgent Cosmopolitanism, and International Labor in Pauline Hopkins's Literary Journalism," *American Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2009): 260; "Filipino Women," *Colored American Magazine* (October 1900): 332; and T. G. Steward, "Two Years in Luzon: Filipino Characteristics," *Colored American Magazine* (November 1901): 332.

[2] For the racialization of Filipinos as "Negroes," see Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898–1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 311; and Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995).

[3] For an example of an African American account that downplays the perceived racial affinity between African Americans and Filipinos, see R. B. Lemus, "The Negro and the Philippines," *Colored American Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1903): 314–20.

[4] See Helen H. Jun, "Black Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Race and U.S. Citizenship," *American Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (2006): 1047–66. For a discussion of cultural nationalism in Asian American culture and the concept of horizontal affiliation, see Lisa Lowe, "Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Multiplicity: Asian American Differences," *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996): 60–83.

[5] See Claudia Tate, "Allegories of Black Female Desire; or, Rereading Nineteenth-Century Sentimental Narratives of Black Female Authority," in *Changing Our Own Words: Essays on Criticism, Theory, and Writing by Black Women*, ed. Cheryl A. Wall (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989): 99–107.

[6] Ira Dworkin points out that on the periodical's first anniversary in May 1901, it proudly claimed one hundred thousand readers, with a monthly circulation reaching twenty thousand. See his introduction to *Daughter of the Revolution: The Major Nonfiction Works of Pauline E. Hopkins*, ed. Ira Dworkin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press,

2007), xx. For more on the magazine's readership, see Sigrid Anderson Cordell, "'The Case Was Very Black Against' Her: Pauline Hopkins and the Politics of Racial Ambiguity at the *Colored American Magazine*," *American Periodicals* 16, no. 1 (2006): 52–73. A letter from Walter Wallace, the magazine's founder, to Booker T. Washington, dated August 6, 1901, indicates that one-third of the magazine's subscribers were white (58).

[7] See Kevin Gaines, "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology as 'Civilizing Mission': Pauline E. Hopkins on Race and Imperialism," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 443; and Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, xxvi, xxxi.

[8] See Cordell, "'The Case Was Very Black Against' Her"; Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*; and O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe.'"

[9] See Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, xx, xxii. For more on black cultural nationalism, see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); and Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

[10] See Stuart Creighton Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); and Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *McClure's Magazine* 12, no. 4 (February 1899).

[11] *Colored American Magazine* 1, no. 1 (May 1900), in the announcement section.

[12] See Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, xxv; Cordell, "'The Case Was Very Black Against' Her," 56–60; and Jill Bergman, "'Everything We Hoped She'd Be': Contending Forces in Hopkins Scholarship," *African American Review* 38, no. 2 (2004): 181–99.

[13] Charles Winslow Hall, "The Eighth Illinois, U.S.V.," *Colored American Magazine* 1, no. 2 (June 1900): 94.

[14] Hall, "The Eighth Illinois," 98. For the reference to the Eighth Illinois as the "negro regiment," see "To Free an Army Mascot; He Belonged to the Eighth Illinois, but Fell into Bad Ways," *New York Times*, December 17, 1899, 10.

[15] Throughout this essay, I use "international" in cases where the emphasis is on the connections between established nation forms without necessarily critiquing or problematizing them. "Transnational," on the other hand, is used to refer to a wide range of critical imaginaries that call the nation form into question, such as political alliances that surpass or trouble national boundaries. For more on Du Bois, see Bill V. Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2004), xi–xliv, 1–41; and Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 171–212. For more on cross-racial alliances, see Gatewood, *Black Americans*, 279; Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*; George P. Marks, III, ed., *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898–1900)* (New York: Arno Press, 1971); Marc

Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and E. San Juan, Jr., "African American Internationalism and Solidarity with the Philippine Revolution," *Socialism and Democracy* 53 (2010): 32–65.

[16] Robert C. Owens, "Robert C. Owens: A Pacific Coast Successful Negro," *Colored American Magazine* 9, no. 1 (July 1905): 391–93.

[17] While Colleen O'Brien argues that Hopkins's construction of the Christian God in her later journalistic works is one that inspires revolution rather than colonization, here I am discussing *CAM*'s discursive tendencies, which were not necessarily the same as Hopkins's. Even if one wishes to argue that the construction of Christianity in *CAM* potentially serves radical goals, the fact remains that *CAM*'s construction of (American) blackness often relies on the distinctions between the ideal black leaders of revolution and other racialized peoples, whether or not such discourses "intend" to colonize, not to mention the potential "unintended" consequences. However, all these issues are in fact beside the point in the context of my argument here. Instead of making totalizing moral and political judgments on the writers discussed here, I am more interested in teasing out the production of complex and contradictory subject positions in the interracial imaginaries of racial uplift discourses.

[18] J. Shirley Shadrach (Pauline Hopkins), "Furnace Blasts," *Colored American Magazine* 6, no. 4 (February 1903): 262. For information on this pseudonym, see Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, xli.

[19] S. E. F. C. C. Hamedoe, "Ithamar, the Land of the Palm: Siamese History, Custom, Etc.," *Colored American Magazine* 5, no. 3 (July 1902): 175.

[20] S. E. F. C. C. Hamedoe, "The King of Ashanti and His 3333 Wives," *Colored American Magazine* 3, no. 5 (September 1901): 370.

[21] See Pauline Hopkins, *A Primer of Facts Regarding the Early Greatness of the African Race and the Possibility of Restoration by Its Descendants—with Epilogue* (Boston: P. E. Hopkins, 1905), 31. See also O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe,'" 261.

[22] For a discussion of the relationship between US imperial expansion and immigration in an earlier period, see Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1–6.

[23] "Chinese vs. Negroes," *Colored American Magazine* 13, no. 2 (August 1907): 106.

[24] For one rare exception, see "The Way of the World," *Colored American Magazine* 9, no. 1 (July 1905): 406.

[25] "Chinese vs. Negroes," 112.

[26] See John L. Waller, Jr., "Evils of European Emigration," *Colored American Magazine* 7, no. 9 (September 1904): 595–97; "The Way of the World," *Colored American Magazine* 9,

no. 6 (December 1905): 671, 672; and "The Way of the World," *Colored American Magazine* 7, no. 9 (January 1906): 735.

[27] See Lemus, "The Negro and the Philippines." For discussions of this imperial discourse and its counterdiscourse, see Gatewood, *Black Americans*, 311; Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*, 37–39; Gaines, "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology," 433–55; and O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe.'"

[28] For more on early biographies of black revolutionaries, see O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe,'" 259. The point here, as Jun cogently argues in her analysis of black orientalism, should not be to simply label these responses as "racist" but to unravel the logic of the dominant form of national identification that informs such cultural nationalist responses and their effects (Jun, "Black Orientalism," 1048–49). Even at a rare moment when the recognition of shared interests and political stakes among blacks and stigmatized European immigrants (such as the Jews and the Italians) emerges, black nationalism in *CAM* reproduces the divisive effects and hierarchical structure of white racial and imperial discourses by asserting Afrocentricity. See J. Mariner Kent, "The Afro-American Problem," *Colored American Magazine* 6, no. 10 (October 1903): 724–26.

[29] For a historical account of African Americans' diverse responses to US imperialism, see Gatewood, *Black Americans*. Other examples of the effects of this divisive logic include racial exclusion in the US women's suffrage movement, gender subordination within the black uplift movement, and pre-1960s Asian American history. In the last case, not only were laborers from China, Japan, Korea, India, and the Philippines recruited and excluded in succession, but the staggering appeals of their exclusions based on their individual nationalities also reinstated their differences. See Lisa Lowe, "Immigration, Citizenship, Racialization: Asian American Critique," *Immigrant Acts*, 1–36.

[30] See Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 15–38.

[31] Much has been said about the novel's critique of institutionalized racism through the portrayal of Sappho's dramatic path toward intraracial heterosexual domesticity and, more recently, the homoerotic dynamics between Sappho and Dora as well as between Ophelia Davis and Sister Sarah Ann White. For more on the use of the marriage plot in nineteenth-century African American women's writing, see Hazel V. Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ann duCille, *The Coupling Convention: Sex, Text, and Tradition in Black Women's Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Claudia Tate, *Domestic Allegories of Political Desire: The Black Heroine's Text at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). For more on race and sexuality, see Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 1–38; and Roderick A. Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

[32] Hopkins's use of "white" terms of respectability and miscegenation to contest racial inequality has generated polarizing scholarly interpretations: while some embrace her as a figure of gender and racial resistance, others are critical of her complicity in reproducing white patriarchal family structures. See duCille, *Coupling Convention*; Gaines, "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology"; and Kate McCullough's discussion of Houston Baker's and Richard Yarborough's interpretations in her *Regions of Identity: The Construction of America in Women's Fiction, 1885–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 97–98.

[33] See Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 77–110; and McCullough, *Regions of Identity*, 93–130.

[34] Pauline E. Hopkins, *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 119.

[35] Claudia Tate argues that, in African American women's fiction, the marriage story "does not evolve from dramatizing the ideology of romantic love"; rather, "respect kindles love, and mutual commitment to advancing the race engenders love" (Tate, "Allegories of Black Female Desire," 117).

[36] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, 121.

[37] See Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 175–79.

[38] Sappho's education that enables her to support herself by working as a stenographer, her "naturally weak constitution" that prevents her from doing housework and limits her employment options (Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, 127), and her dramatic experience of falling from a rich family's respectable daughter to a wretched sexual prey of her white half-uncle set her apart from the majority of African American women during the period.

[39] See Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*; and Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 75.

[40] See Sharon Harley, Francille Rusan Wilson, and Shirley Wilson Logan, "Introduction: Historical Overview of Black Women and Work," in *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work*, ed. Sharon Harley and the Black Women and Work Collective (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 4–7; Bart Landry, *Black Working Wives: Pioneers of the American Family Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 30, 40–42; and Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1986).

[41] By using the word "emulate" here, I am not suggesting that black citizen subjects should not have the same rights as nonracialized citizens, but to point out the historical conditions that denied such rights. See also Mark Rifkin, "'A Home Made Sacred by

Protecting Laws': Black Activist Homemaking and Geographies of Citizenship in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*," *differences* 18, no. 2 (2007): 72–102.

[42] See Carla L. Peterson, "'And We Claim Our Rights': The Rights Rhetoric of Black and White Women Activists before the Civil War," in Harley et al., *Sister Circle*, 134.

[43] Hopkins, *Contending Forces*, 122.

[44] For a discussion of private property as the basis of possessive individualism, see Grace Kyungwon Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University Minnesota Press, 2006), xiii.

[45] For a biographically based interpretation of Hopkins's romanticization of the British empire symbolized by this portrayal, see Lois Brown, *Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 242–52.

[46] Social historians who have studied southern black communities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries argue that "black cultural and social institutions reflected communal values and collective uplift that were at odds with the prevailing individualistic ideology of the dominant white classes." Meanwhile, as Evelyn Nakano Glenn points out, "A collective orientation did not preclude internal divisions. By the 1880s the members of an emerging black middle class were responding to white racist ideology by acquiescing in the notion that the masses of blacks were as yet unready for citizenship, and taking on themselves the mantle of agents of black progress" (Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 127–28).

[47] See Bergman, "'Everything We Hoped She'd Be'"; and Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, xxxi.

[48] For a general account of the increasingly internationally oriented trajectory of Hopkins's oeuvre, see O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe,'" 256.

[49] See also Susan Gillman, *Blood Talk: American Race Melodrama and the Culture of the Occult* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 33–69.

[50] Pauline Hopkins, "Munroe Rogers," *Colored American Magazine* 6, no. 1 (November 1902): 20–26.

[51] See O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe,'" 257.

[52] Pauline Hopkins, "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century; VI. The North American Indian—Conclusion," *Voice of the Negro* 2, no. 7 (1905), reprinted in Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, 329.

[53] Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, 305, xxxii. See also Ann duCille, "Discourse and Dat Course: Postcoloniality and Afrocentricity," in *Skin Trade* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 120–35.

[54] For example, Hopkins states that "the Moslem Malays treat their womankind much better than the heathen Malays do" (Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, 313) and that

"in Thibet a woman may have many husbands, but a man may have only one wife" (318).

[55] Ibid., 319. For the period's cultural narratives about race, marriage, "yellow slavery," see Yu-Fang Cho, "'Yellow Slavery,' Narratives of Rescue, and Sui Sin Far/Edith Maude Eaton's 'Lin John' (1899)," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 12, no. 1 (2009): 35–63; and Yu-Fang Cho, "Domesticating the Aliens Within: Sentimental Benevolence in Late-Nineteenth-Century California Magazines," *American Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2009): 113–36.

[56] Ibid., 314. For a discussion of Hopkins's imagination of black–Filipino alliances, see O'Brien, "'Blacks in all Quarters of the Globe,'" 266.

[57] See Dworkin, *Daughter of the Revolution*, xxxi.

[58] Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1984), 110–13.

[59] For recent scholarship on comparative racialization, see Jun, "Black Orientalism"; Hong, *Ruptures of American Capital*; Mullen, *Afro-Orientalism*; James Kyung-Jin Lee, *Urban Triage: Race and the Fictions of Multiculturalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Shu-mei Shih, "Comparative Racialization: An Introduction," *PMLA* 123, no. 5 (2008): 1347–62; Colleen Lye, "The Afro-Asian Analogy," *PMLA* 123, no. 5 (2008): 1732–36; and Leslie Bow, "Racial Interstitiality and the Anxieties of the 'Partly Colored': Representations of Asians under Jim Crow," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 10, no. 1 (2007): 1–30.

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